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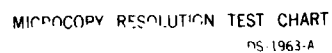
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STUDENT REPORT

PROFILE OF A TERRORIST

Major Janet Lee Kunciw

88-1510

"insights into tomorrow"

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88-1510
PROFILE OF A TERRORIST

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Submitted to the faculty in partial fulfillment of
requirements for graduation.

**AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE
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PREFACE

The purpose of this research report is to provide a picture of a terrorist in today's world in basic layman's terms for students attending Air Command and Staff College. This picture will include not only a psychological and physiological analysis but also a discussion on terrorist weapons, targets, and tactics. Subject to clearance, this manuscript will be submitted to Air Command and Staff College staff for inclusion in the Low Intensity Conflict textbook.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	iii
About the Author.....	iv
Executive Summary.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE--INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER TWO--DEFINING TERRORISM.....	3
CHAPTER THREE--PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF A TERRORIST.....	5
Age.....	5
Sex.....	6
Intelligence.....	6
Social Strata.....	7
Psyche.....	8
Urban Lifestyles.....	9
Recruiting Methods and Training.....	9
Ideology.....	11
CHAPTER FOUR--WEAPONS.....	14
CHAPTER FIVE--TARGET SELECTION.....	18
Symbolic Message.....	18
Enforcing Discipline within Their Group.....	19
Military Targets.....	20
Punishment.....	21
Financial Returns.....	21
CHAPTER SIX--TACTICS.....	23
Executions.....	23
Kidnappings.....	24
Bombings.....	24
Hijackings.....	25
Occupation with Hostage Taking.....	26
Assaults on Installations or Facilities.....	26
CHAPTER SEVEN--CONCLUSIONS.....	28
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	31

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

TABLE 1—Profile of a Terrorist.....	30
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Part of our College mission is distribution of the students' problem solving products to DoD sponsors and other interested agencies to enhance insight into contemporary, defense related issues. While the College has accepted this product as meeting academic requirements for graduation, the views and opinions expressed or implied are solely those of the author and should not be construed as carrying official sanction.

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REPORT NUMBER 88-1510
AUTHOR(S) MAJOR JANET L. KUNCIW, USAF
TITLE PROFILE OF A TERRORIST

I. PURPOSE: To provide Air Force officers with a clear picture of a terrorist and his weapons, targets, and tactics.

II. PROBLEM. Modern urban terrorists are targeting U.S. military personnel and facilities at an increasing rate. The upward trend of attacks shows no signs of decreasing. Rather, weapons and tactics are becoming more technologically advanced. While the terrorists are becoming increasingly more sophisticated, Americans tend to view them very differently. The perception of poor, badly organized and equipped vigilantes could not be further from reality. It is imperative that a clear and concise compilation of information be provided military officers so they are better armed to face the terrorist threat.

III. OBJECTIVES. The principal objective of this research report is to draw a complete picture of a terrorist. To accomplish this objective, various attributes of terrorists are discussed and examples are provided. These attributes are age, sex, intelligence, social strata, psyche, urban lifestyles, recruiting method and training, and ideology. Next, the weapons terrorists use are examined. Emphasis is placed on guns, bombs, and explosives since they are most often used against military targets.

CONTINUED

Following weapons, there is a review of target selection and the criteria used in their selection. Target accessibility, weapons availability, and terrorist goals constrain target selection. But, once a target is selected, the terrorists' tactics often spell success or failure of the operation. Therefore, tactics will be addressed in a separate chapter.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: The U.S. military presence is worldwide. We are visible and, therefore, a target. Each military officer must be aware of the terrorists, their activities, and the role they play in low intensity conflict. Protection for the officers, their families, and the people under their command will depend on the knowledge they possess.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS: The USAF must incorporate information on terrorism in all professional military education courses.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research report is to present a clear and concise depiction of a modern (1945 to present) urban terrorist from the European and Middle Eastern regions. Terrorism has been a method of warfare for a very long time. The bible has several accounts of terrorist acts in the Old Testament. The American Revolutionary War had elements of terrorism used to change a political regime and achieve political succession. A terrorist act of political assassination was the catalytic event that sparked World War I. Analysis shows a distinct change in terrorists, their weapons, targets, and tactics after World War II. Studies from the Rand Corporation indicate that the frequency of terrorist attacks is greatest in the European and Middle Eastern regions. (3:22) The profile of a terrorist described in this report will thus be limited by time and geographical region.

The United States of America was founded on the basic principles of liberty, justice, and concern for human life. Our country has survived many threats over past years. Today, we, as a country, are facing another grave challenge—terrorism. (5:1)

Terrorist activities affect United States national and foreign policy. Since the military is an instrument of foreign policy, military members are required to travel to many foreign countries as direct expressions of the United States political will and show of force. As members of a democracy who seek a world free of violence, we are the terrorists' principal target.

From 1970 to 1983, there have been 63 attacks on U.S. military installations, 29 attacks on U.S. military individuals, and 43 attacks on random U.S. military targets. (39:42) Preliminary statistics indicate these numbers are growing. (39:42)

Most Americans, including those in the military, perceive terrorists to be poor, badly organized and equipped groups of people led by maniacs. This perception is dangerous, not only because it is false but also because it leads us not to take the threat seriously. The threat is real and the military's visibility as a target is real. Each Air Force officer should be knowledgeable so they can protect themselves, the people, and the facilities they command.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINING TERRORISM

When studying terrorism and those who perpetrate violence, it is necessary to establish universally accepted definitions. During my research, numerous definitions were found, but not one international consensus of the definition existed. Therefore, in this second chapter, elements of terrorism will be discussed to provide the foundation for the rest of this paper.

By its very nature, terrorism is directed towards democratic societies. Democracies are opposed to violence as a method of change; however, violence is the only acceptable method of change for terrorists. Terrorist groups are often more interested in the emotional impact and social effects of their violent acts on the democratic society than with the acts themselves. (9:2) Modern urban terrorists are arming to fight the populace, not individuals, because society's existence stands in the way of the terrorists' "own just cause." (11:307) Terrorists are not interested in the social progress offered by democratic societies. Rather, they are bent on provoking a repressive or fascist reaction by the democratic governments. (1:43) One view of terrorism is that it "can be characterized as planned acts of violence, directed at civilians and carved out for the purpose of obtaining a political goal." (26:341) But this is just one of the aspects of terrorism. Planned acts of violence are not considered acts of terrorism if one agrees with the terrorists' objective. Zionist acts of terror against the British after World War II are an example of terrorist

acts which really never had the label "Terrorism" stamped on them. Even in the United States, many Irish Americans feel the Provisional Irish Republican Army are heroes, not terrorists. (2:15)

Several other authoritative sources have proposed ideas about terrorism. A Rand Corporation study says that the nature of the act defines terrorism. (3:2) Their comments imply that not only individuals and groups can be terrorists, but also governments. The Central Intelligence Agency's definition includes a breakdown of terrorism that is transnational or that which is international. That is to say terrorism by independent political actors versus individuals or groups supported directly by a sympathetic state. (2:17;9:10) George P. Shultz, Secretary of State, states that terrorism is a form of political violence, neither random nor without purpose, succeeding when governments change their policies out of intimidation. (30:432)

Walter Laqueur, in his article "Reflections on Terrorism," defines terrorism as "the use or threat of violence, a method of combat or strategy to achieve certain goals, that its aim is to induce a state of fear in the victim, that it is ruthless, and does not conform to humanitarian norms and that publicity is an essential factor in terrorist strategy." (19:88) This is the definition which underscores this paper and acts as a basis on which to build.

CHAPTER 3

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF A TERRORIST

This chapter will discuss various attributes of terrorists. These assorted distinctive elements will include such topics as age, sex, intelligence, social strata, psyche, urban lifestyles, recruiting methods and training, and ideology. If during the analysis of these elements any differences between terrorist groups are identified, they will be covered in the discussion.

Age

The median age of most terrorists falls in the middle-to-late twenties. (15:18) Some people are brought into an organization while still in their teens (22:C1), but do not play an active role until they are more experienced. These younger candidates become helpers in terrorist camps and schools. They receive training in the various arts and skills they will soon use. Because of youth's prevailing feelings of their own immortality, teens are often selected for acts of extreme violence. (35:6) Two Palestinian teenagers, Wadi Fadlallah, age 19 and Shana Mahidli, age 17, drove a car bomb into an Israeli outpost in Lebanon blowing up themselves as well as wounding a number of Israeli soldiers. (24:27) In another incident, Israeli soldiers captured a 16-year old Lebanese Shiite boy before he could carry out his suicidal mission. (24:27) In the end, those terrorists who survive to middle age often become the group leaders. The "how-to bible" for terrorists, Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla, was

written by the infamous Carlos Marighella, activist and terrorist leader at the age of 58, 5 months prior to his death. (7:69-115) As terrorists age, some tend to drop out of violent activities while others remain active, developing followers of their own splinter factions such as Abu Nidal, a well-known terrorist leader. (22:C1)

Sex

To the outside observer, most terrorist groups seem to be male dominated. This is definitely the case. However, today women can and do hold both a passive and active role within most terrorist groups. Women have participated in a purely supportive capacity. They may function as keepers of safe houses, nurses, or couriers. As urban guerrillas, where brute strength is not usually a requirement, women blend more easily into their environs and cause less suspicion about their actions. (9:55) Leila Khaled, a member of a Palestinian terrorist group, was an active participant of two hijackings in 1969 and 1970. (9:54-55) Ursula Meinhof became an aggressive leader of a West German movement until her suicidal death in jail at the age of 42. (4:48) Changes within Italian society in the 1970s and 1980s have greatly altered the role of Italian women. Such changes as increased numbers of females attending universities, rewritten divorce laws, greater presence in the workforce, and the increased fragmentation of the Italian family structure have caused a dramatic rise in female participation within Italian terrorist groups. (34:241)

Intelligence

One may postulate that terrorists are crazy and, in their insanity, commit despicable deeds against society. Though the heinous acts are

atrocious, terrorists need the assistance and support of their group to carry out their villainy. It would be difficult to believe that a madman could sustain a following that would support him. Rather, evidence upholds the contrary supposition.

A high degree of intelligence is necessary to devise, plan, and implement the terrorists' destruction and people with the necessary attributes are culled from universities. Evaluation of numerous documents indicates that members of terrorist groups are usually well-travelled and educated. (22:C1) These people tend to have on average at least two and one-half years of university education before recruitment. (15:18) While attending the universities, students have an opportunity to see both sides of law and order. (9:53) Situated within urban centers, the dichotomy between the rich and poor is clearly discernible. (9:53) This leads to increased student activism. Students usually exhibit a type of personality trait which displays an increased willingness to participate in activities that are physical in nature. (21:19) Student activists become involved in actions ranging from nonviolent demonstrations to various forms of violent activities (i.e., rock-throwing, etc.).

Social Strata

Since a large number of terrorists are university students, it follows that these students are generally from a privileged middle to upper middle class background. (15:18) These people have enjoyed advantages throughout their lives not available to the majority in their country. Because of their elevated status (education, social strata), they are usually the leaders within the terrorist groups. (6:38) If these individuals "have it

all," what causes them to forsake all and lead a life within the terrorist movement? In the next section, we will look at some of the root causes.

Psyche

Several studies of terrorists have revealed numerous similarities in their backgrounds. One important similarity is an occurrence of a negative emotional event during their childhood. For instance, a devastating childhood illness, to the extent of being close to death, may cause counterphobic behavior (taking risks to counter fear) later in life. (35:6) The loss of a parent, by death or for other reasons, particularly of a father, has a dramatically negative effect. (13:5) Dr. Jerrold M. Post, in his article "Psychodynamic Theory of Terrorist Behavior," states that in one study 25 percent of the terrorists had lost one or both of their parents by early adolescence. (27:244) The negative experience during their formative years gives them a strong feeling of inferiority, a sense of helplessness, and erodes the person's sense of worth and self-respect. This has been termed "narcissistic wounding," thus causing a "narcissistic rage" to develop. (6:37) This rage smoulders within the potential terrorist and appears as they exhibit a disproportionately greater number of failures in their education and job-related efforts. (25:7) The terrorists become "advancement oriented and failure prone." (27:244) They project their failures and concerns onto society as a whole instead of accepting them as a consequence of their own actions. They are determined to change society to conform to their perspectives rather than modify their behavior to fit into society. In a recent article, "Case History of a German Terrorist," an American psychiatrist studied an urban guerrilla recently captured in Germany. Conversations revealed the death of the father when the terrorist

was 7 years old and a mother sandwiched between the demands of raising a family and a full-time job to support that family. Subsequent incidents further alienated the terrorist, and behavioral changes resulted in his involvement in drugs. Further trauma led to his increased participation in radical groups and thence recruitment into the Baader-Meinhof gang. (13:3-5) How the terrorists disguise themselves to fit into society will be described in the next section.

Urban Lifestyles

The urban environment is ideal for concealing terrorists. It is easy for them to preserve their anonymity. A terrorist is consumed by paranoia, so he must be careful to blend into ordinary urban life. They are observant and meticulous and dress to match the people within their city area. (7:73) They must live within the income of their job and avoid any type of flamboyancy. Since they are constantly hunted, friendships and other normal relationships are difficult. (6:34) Rarely are terrorists married. Though family beliefs are instilled at an early age, terrorists usually remain single. Spouses and children make excellent targets for retribution and may deter the terrorists from their actions. All relationships must come from within the terrorist group, and it is the group which returns the terrorist's self esteem. (27:246)

Recruiting Method and Training

The constantly changing members of the terrorist group require the group to have an intensive recruitment program. Members leave terrorist groups for a variety of reasons including change of ideology, age, and death. As described above, recruiters for terrorist groups find a "target

rich" environment at universities. They focus on student leaders whose political "activism can be channeled into extremism." (15:18) The university students represent a segment of the population considered very susceptible to the aspiration and motivation espoused by terrorist groups. (34:241) During the formative years of terrorist groups, many members were convicted criminals intent on crime and not the stated ideological purpose of the group. (29:16) These criminals were hired and tolerated for one main reason--their operational experience with weapons. As terrorist groups matured and became more experienced, the convicted criminals were removed from the group.

Individual motivations for joining a group rarely coincide with the terrorist group's motivations. (21:20) Personal motives may include a desire to belong to an identifiable group; to be accepted. However, total loyalty is required from each member. (29:16;16:13) Before an individual is confirmed as a member of the group, an investigation is required. Several group members must vouch for the recruit. (5:156) The recruit is placed under surveillance to ensure his authenticity and a file is developed detailing likes, dislikes, associates, sex habits, etc. (5:157) This file is kept current and can be used against the member, if necessary.

Once accepted as a member of the terrorist group, the individual is required to complete a course of training. Training courses have been known to last from 8 weeks to 6 months. Additional training may be provided to promising recruits lasting up to a year. (2:66;2:76) Besides physical conditioning and weapons training, recruits are given instructions on the use of disguises, fake identities, and other skills necessary to accomplish violent terrorist acts. (2:77) Evidence exists

that most organized terrorist camps are supported by state organizations. Camps, located in Syria, Libya, South Yemen, and the Soviet Union, are extremely effective. (6:11-14) Because of the state support, the training is far more extensive than smaller terrorist groups could ever hope to obtain. These camps are not underground; rather, training is done in the open with the latest weapons and intelligence provided by the host states. (1:14;6:41) With the added capabilities provided by these host nations, the terrorist group develops into a formidable force.

Ideology

Analysis of different terrorists' groups within the European and Middle Eastern regions suggests the ideology of terrorists' groups can be separated into three main categories. These categories are religious, nationalistic, and political. A terrorist organization's ideology may invoke objectives from any or all combinations of these categories. In all three categories, violence is considered the only acceptable method of achieving the stated goals of the group.

The ideology governing the actions of many terrorist groups is generally believed to be of a religious nature. Recent evidence suggests violent terrorist acts motivated by religion are on the rise in the Middle Eastern area. (33:22) Shiites' fanaticism and their acts of terrorism spurred by Khomeini's hatred of the West are perpetrated in the religious belief of martyrdom. This belief sustains true religious believers who drive car bombs convinced they will achieve paradise by their death. (24:26-27) However, Palestinian terrorists' acts against the Israeli nation and its people are not acts based on religious warfare, as commonly believed, but rather the motivator is of a political nature. (36:21)

Likewise, the Provisional IRA's goals may seem to some people to pit Catholic Irish against Protestant Irish. Rather, the actual objective of this organization has more to do with the elimination of capitalism in Ireland and a destabilization of the United Kingdom. (2:22)

Nationalism is the stated objective of several groups in Europe and the Middle East. The Basque Homeland and Liberty Movement (ETA) originally fought terrorist campaigns for a democratic homeland in the Iberian region. (6:12) Today, after 20 years of insurgent actions, the Basque separatists have embraced Marxist political theory as their principal doctrine. (2:22;33:22) Some Arab nations consider the violent actions of terrorists to be an "expression of a national liberation movement from repressed people's struggle for independence." (37:2) The IRA started with a nationalistic goal of the separation of Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and the unification of Ireland. (8:94) This goal is now one of several objectives of the Provisional IRA.

The political doctrine of most terrorist groups is heavily Marxist. (15:18) This leaning towards Marxist ideals is strengthened through the support of strong Marxist states such as the Soviet Union. (6:41) While Palestinian and IRA organizations are Marxist in nature, the Lebanese desire to organize the revolt spreading in their countryside is strictly Maoist. (37:2) The revolt will be led by an educated cadre of urban people maintaining ties to the militarily active parts of their society. (8:331)

Various attributes of terrorists have been described in this chapter. In a recent Times Magazine essay entitled "How To Deal with Countries Gone Mad," President Reagan refers to these regimes and their espousal of terrorism as the "strangest collection of misfits, Loony Tunes, and squalid

criminals since the advent of the Third Reich." (18:82) This is the popular opinion of terrorists and the regimes that sponsor them. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, it is simply not accurate. Their skill of blending into urban society and the normalcy of their day-to-day action makes terrorists formidable and rational adversaries.

CHAPTER 4

WEAPONS

Violence is the principal means of publicizing the terrorist's goal. To perpetrate violent acts, a terrorist has an assortment of weapons, sophisticated to homemade, from which to select. This chapter will look at some of the more popular weapons used by urban terrorists. These weapons include guns, bombs and explosives, and a miscellaneous selection from the Soviet RPG-7 rocket launcher to homemade Molotov cocktails.

Terrorists often attack small groups of people, engaging and departing quickly. Guns, which are small, light, easily concealed, and simple to use weapons, allow terrorists to move through crowds undetected before attacking. Nine-millimeter weapons are now more frequently used than the larger .45 caliber employed extensively by terrorists in the 60s and 70s. Recent technological advances helped to develop the Glock-17 9-mm pistol. This pistol has a plastic frame (steel barrel and firing mechanism) made from a strong polymer. (12:30) The entire weapon is light (22 ounces), cheap (\$430 retail), and easily concealed from airport X-ray machines. (12:30) Handguns are used more as a terrorist's personal sidearm than a primary weapon. A smaller caliber weapon with extensive penetration power and designed primarily as a submachine gun has become the universal terrorist weapon. (6:99-100) Particularly favored these days are the VZ23, VZ25, AK47, and, perhaps the most famous, the Uzi. (6:100;14:8) Though the Uzi was designed in the 1940s by an Israeli Army officer, today it is probably the most sold submachine gun in the world. Shotguns, loaded with

shells containing small needle-like darts are a new modification to a devastating weapon for use in crowds. The additional effectiveness provided with a shotgun wreaks havoc when used in crowded facilities like train stations and airports. (6:102) Guns are disguised by terrorists to prevent their discovery during searches. Concealment in umbrellas, books, briefcases, and fountainpens are a few examples of the seemingly limitless possibilities open to terrorists.

Though guns play an extensive role in the terrorist's arsenal, bombs are favored and provide a success rate of approximately 90 percent. (15:18) Bombs are the most indiscriminate form of attack committed by terrorists. Murder and violence are magnified; more people (victims) are involved. This can all be accomplished with the terrorist in another location with little chance of being caught. (15:18) The August 1979 bombing of Lord Louis Mountbatten, second cousin of Queen Elizabeth and British war hero, while fishing off the Irish coast was accomplished by a remote control bomb. (2:25) This terrorist act by the IRA marked the tenth anniversary of their terrorist campaign against the United Kingdom. (2:25) On the same day, a remote controlled culvert bomb, explosives weighing from 500-1000 pounds, placed along side the road killed eighteen British soldiers in a truck convoy. (26:352) This also was the work of IRA terrorists. An ingenious device, a nail bomb, analogous to the shotgun shells filled with needle-like darts mentioned above, was used in June 1980 by SAVAMA (Ayatollah Khomeini's Iranian security service) outside the former Iranian consulate in Beverly Hills. (38:2) The year 1983 was named the "Year of the Car Bomb" by John F. Murphy, University of Kansas School of Law, in his treatise "Future Threats." (10:377) The most vivid incident was the

slaughter of 241 U.S. Marines (23 October 1983) while sleeping in their quarters by the Beirut International Airport. A Mercedes-Benz truck passed a Lebanese checkpoint and a Marine sentry guard before slamming into the entrance lobby. (12:22) The impact of this incident has echoed throughout the military establishment and raised questions more far-reaching than those questions dealing with terrorists and their methods.

Explosives are used routinely and plastique has entered the terrorist's preferred arsenal with far-reaching results. These compounds are cheap to make from commonly obtained ingredients, simple to detonate, stable in any climate, and easy to handle. (12:23) The female Lebanese terrorist, May Mansin, easily concealed plastique in a body cavity and proceeded to blow a hole into the side of a TWA Boeing-727, killing four Americans. (12:23)

While guns and bombs and explosives are often used, other weapons are being employed by terrorists. Incendiaries, ranging from the Molotov cocktail to thermite grenades, are used sporadically. Missiles and rockets, like the SA-7, have been found at West German airports. The Soviet RPG-7 rocket launcher is widely used by organizations such as al-Mourabitoun militia in Beirut and the Provisional IRA. (12:25;4:115) Biological and chemical weapons are extremely easy to make and difficult to defend against. Terrorists have used deadly chemicals in the assassination of a Bulgarian defector delivered by compressed gas guns. (6:111) Advances in technology have generated new and deadly weapons using lasers and microwaves. These state-of-the-art weapons will not be limited to governments, but will rapidly find their way into the terrorist's arsenal.

In this chapter, we have looked at some of the weapons used by terrorists. The two most widely used, guns and bombs (including explosives), continue to account for a majority of the violence perpetrated by terrorists. We have also seen some examples of different weapons and the results of their use. The kinds of weapons available are only limited by the imagination of terrorists and the finances they have available to them. Unfortunately, in a free market world, terrorists have a limitless choice of weapons against society.

CHAPTER 5

TARGET SELECTION

This chapter will discuss terrorist targets. Types and kinds of targets seem infinite and opportunities to strike abound in a relatively free and open society. Why particular targets are selected and the choices that terrorists have available to them will be evaluated.

Several factors are considered when selecting a target. These factors are the accessibility of the target, the weapons available, and the terrorists' objectives or what they hope to achieve. (6:130) The overall criteria in target selection is to balance the most media attention and fear with the highest chances for success. (15:18) Additionally, as described by Neil C. Livingstone in his book The War Against Terrorism, there are five primary goals terrorists may have in selecting their target. These include the symbolic message, enforcing discipline within their group, military targets, punishment, and financial returns. (6:130-134) Often the target selected will meet more than one goal of the group. Each of these goals will now be discussed in greater detail.

Symbolic Message

A specific target may be chosen as a symbolic message to a selected segment of the world population. The violent destruction of the target causes an enormous amount of fear and makes the target a perfect choice. Lord Mountbatten was a national hero to the English people. As a highly visible person and a close relative to the royal family, he was an ideal

target. (6:130) He was murdered by the IRA strictly as a symbolic message to the British public. The Achille Lauro hijacking in October 1985 was not the original intent of the hijackers. The primary target was a military target in Israel. (28:18) The terrorists were on board the Achille Lauro, disguised as passengers, and intended to disembark at the Israeli port city of Ashdod. However, they were discovered and the four Arab terrorists proceeded to take over the vessel. (28:18) The seizing of the ship and the brutal slaying of Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old American confined to a wheelchair, definitely created a climate of fear and anger among Americans who make up 80 to 90 percent of the world's cruise ship passengers. (23:18) The symbolic message Americans received was that no place is safe from the violence of terrorism.

Enforcing Discipline within Their Group

Most targets of terrorism are foreigners in countries other than the terrorists' native land. However, terrorists feel a strong allegiance to their own communities and will not hesitate to strike at home if their security is at issue. Those people considered traitors or informers, even if a member of the terrorist's own family, will easily become a target. Killing within one's own community consolidates a terrorist group's position as well as maintains the security necessary for their survival. Zionist terrorist activities against the British in the early days of the formation of the Israeli state caused considerable conflict among Jews. Those who did not support Zionist activities were faced with becoming terrorist victims themselves. (6:132)

Military Targets

Military objectives are easy, visible targets for terrorists. Certain people are included in military objectives: high-ranking military officials, police officers, and government officials. Assassinations, as well as kidnappings, are popular terrorist methods to hamper military actions. The Greek November 17 terrorist group attack on a U.S. Air Force unmarked shuttle bus carrying a flight crew in August 1987 targeted a military objective to achieve a larger goal. Their attacks on U.S. military personnel have a stated objective of closing U.S. military bases on Greek soil and removing the U.S. military presence in Greece. (17:10A) A recent (August 1987) discotheque bombing injuring thirteen people in Spain was a failed attempt by Basque separatists to bomb a passing civil guard convoy. Military targets in Northern Ireland are increasing. "Since 1976, attacks against the security forces have become the dominant form of political violence in Northern Ireland." (26:350) The Provisional IRA's use of snipings, ambushes, and bombings of police have caused the police to overreact in some cases, increasing the tension within the communities. (26:351) Perhaps one of the most devastating terrorist attacks occurred against the Marine barracks at the Beirut International Airport. A suicidal Arab terrorist drove a small stakebed truck unhindered into the lobby of the building causing what the FBI forensic laboratory called "the largest non-nuclear explosion ever" killing 241 Marines. (12:22) While it is rare that actions of this type will seriously slow the bureaucracy in Western societies, smaller Third World governments may be damaged with the loss of just a few of their officials.

Punishment

Terrorists' campaigns to punish opponents are common. The September 1986 bombing campaign in Paris by the Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners (C.S.P.P.A.) claimed responsibility for over 10 bombings killing 10 and wounding over 257. (32:40) These bombings were designed against Premier Jacques Chirac and his law-and-order platform and to force the release of terrorist leaders such as Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, presumed leader of the Lebanese Armed Revolution Faction. Judges in Northern Ireland are another example of a target selected for punishment. If the sentences handed down by judges are considered too severe, the judge is selected for assassination, as punishment for him and a lesson to be learned by other judges. (26:350)

Financial Returns

Kidnappings usually receive the maximum publicity because of the exorbitant amounts paid. Terrorism is an expensive business. Money thus becomes a primary motive for terrorist acts. In 1972, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked a Lufthansa airliner to Aden and held the plane and its passengers ransom for \$5 million dollars which was finally paid by the airline. (4:209) In 1975, German politician Peter Lorenz was kidnapped by the Baader-Meinhof gang. The West German government paid 20,000 deutsche marks to each of five terrorists after releasing them from prison as one of the results of the kidnappers' demands. (4:218) The money obtained by the terrorists is used to finance training and for outfitting the terrorist group with weapons. Another example of the financial motive is the kidnapping of Americans in Beirut. These hostages were part of the 1985 U.S. arms-for-hostages deals that

exploded in the U.S. in 1986. The consequences to the United States of the National Security Council's involvement in dealing arms with radical, extremist revolutionary governments are serious and have yet to be resolved.

It can be seen from the above that terrorists take many factors into consideration when selecting a target. For instance, a target's accessibility may be overcome by insufficient weapons. Plenty of weapons may be available, but security for the target was increased eliminating the successful outcome of the mission. Unfortunately, terrorists have many targets to choose from and the likelihood of innocent bystanders caught in the crossfire is increasing.

CHAPTER 6

TACTICS

In this chapter, we will briefly examine some of the tactics used by urban terrorists. The information discussed in this chapter is based on the infamous terrorist leader Carlos Marighella's book Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla. It is not necessary for would-be terrorists to attend a Soviet-sponsored training camp. Instructions for all sorts of tactics are easily obtainable in bookstores. Some of the tactics used by terrorists include assaults, raids and penetrations, occupations, ambush, street tactics, strikes and work interruptions, desertions, diversion, seizures, expropriation of arms, ammunition and explosives, liberation of prisoners, executions, kidnappings, sabotage, bombings, hijackings, and an overall psychological war of nerves. Of all the above listed, six account for 96 percent of all terrorist tactics: executions, kidnappings, bombings, hijackings, occupation combined with hostage taking, and assaults on installations or facilities. (7:21) Each of these six will be discussed in this chapter.

Executions

Executions or assassinations are described by Carlos Marighella as "a secret action in which the least possible number of urban guerrillas are involved." (7:100) He continues by saying that the act can be committed by one sniper, alone and unknown. (7:100) Favorite victims of terrorists are Western military and diplomatic personnel, national government officials,

and the police. The Red Brigade assassinated a key Italian parliamentarian, Aldo Moro, attempting to destabilize the Italian democracy in 1978. (2:25) The start of World War I is often attributed to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo, Bosnia, by a Serbian nationalist student on June 28, 1914. (4:5) The execution tactic is very effective when the victim is a well-known and beloved member of society.

Kidnapping

Kidnapping is capturing and holding the victim in a secret spot. Kidnappings are often used in conjunction with another tactic like assassination. (7:100) The victim may be used to liberate comrades, to make a political statement, or to obtain money. (7:101) Numerous kidnappings in Beirut involve victims from many countries. No one is sure if the same terrorist group holds all of the victims. At one point, U.S. officials seriously considered kidnapping relatives of the hostage-takers to get the release of the American victims. (40:5) Lack of intelligence and contacts were the reasons the plan was dropped. (40:5)

Bombings

According to a 1985 Rand Study, bombings accounted for 1,290 of the Rand incident files occurring since 1980. (3:9-21) Since World War II, terrorists have changed tactics from the personal terrorist acts against one leader who could directly change or influence events. World War II massive bombings involving large quantities of civilian casualties was seen as a direct part of conventional warfare. (11:307) Terrorists no longer differentiate between combatants and noncombatants; now, anyone is a target. (20:30) Bombing becomes a crucial tactic; killing one person may

not make prime time television, but killing ten will certainly disrupt society and become a media event. (20:31) Paris became a dangerous city in September 1986 due to five terrorist bombings within ten days. The Marxist terrorists claimed responsibility for the damage, leaving 10 dead and 257 wounded. (32:40) Bombings were prevalent in Northern Ireland in 1972 and 1973. Some examples in 1972 include the bombing of a restaurant on March 4, killing 2 and injuring 130, and the street bombing on March 20, killing 6 and injuring 146. These incidents were a result of the terrorists wanting publicity, to change a policy, or revenge. (26:355) Bombs are used often since the terrorist can be long gone and safe from capture.

Hijackings

Hijacking is a violent and deadly tactic employed by terrorists. Several armed terrorists are capable of holding several hundred people hostage until the terrorists' demands are met. An aircraft provides excellent mobility for terrorists and there are many nations willing to provide sanctuary for hijacked aircraft. Money and release of terrorists from prisons are two usual terrorist motives with an overall media show as a subsidiary motive underlining their actions. On Christmas Day 1986, during a 90-minute flight from Baghdad to Amman, pro-Iranian terrorists hijacked an Iraqi Boeing 737 and forced it to crash land killing 62 of the 107 passengers. (31:56) No motives were known in one of the most disastrous hijackings in history, but it is believed to be a Tehranian-sanctioned action in retaliation for Iraqi attacks in the Iran-Iraq War. (31:56) The June 1985 TWA hijacking was the first hijacking of a U.S. aircraft in the Middle East since 1970. (41:4) The hijacking of

the Achille Lauro is a clear example of the ability of terrorists to use situational analysis after their premature discovery and hijack a ship.

Occupation with Hostage Taking

Carlos Marighella states that "Occupations are a type of attack carried out when the urban guerrilla stations himself in specific establishments and locations for a temporary resistance against the enemy or for some propaganda purpose." (7:95) Couple occupation with hostage taking and you have a formidable tactic. Hostages serve a number of purposes. They protect the terrorist during a criminal activity. They can be used as bargaining chips to get terrorist demands, including exchange for terrorist comrades in prison. (2:26) Perhaps the most vivid recent example is the Iranian takeover of the American embassy in Tehran and the capture of American diplomatic and military personnel. The terrorists were in a perfect position of power and they knew well the necessity to manipulate the media and cause the greatest sensation. The Black September infiltration into the Israeli dormitory at the 1972 Munich Olympics is another example of occupation with hostage taking. Initially, two Israeli athletes were killed and during the subsequent movement of the athletes, the terrorists killed nine others. Quaddafi awarded the Black September group with an estimated \$10 million dollar bonus for an excellent job. (6:17)

Assaults on Installations or Facilities

During the 1980-1985 time period, a Rand Study indicates 293 terrorist assaults were made on installations and facilities. (3:Table 8) Carlos Marighella defines assaults as "armed attacks" with night assaults the most

advantageous to the urban guerrillas. (7:92) Night permits a greater element of surprise and aids in the terrorists' flight. (7:92) But, day assaults are used just as often. The assault by a suicide car bomber on the Beirut International Airport dormitory killed 241 American Marines. (12:22) Numerous police installations in Londonderry and Belfast have been attacked by members of the Provisional IRA. (26:350) Terrorists in Ireland have a tradition for attacking security forces. (26:350) The Royal Ulster Constabulary facilities have been attacked by terrorists wielding RPG-7s and home-made mortars. (26:353)

This chapter has described the six most used tactics by terrorists. Today's urban terrorists are willing to kill large groups of people. (10:378) They are ready to use society as their targets and not just individuals. (11:307) Violence is the main thread of their tactics, whichever form they choose.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

The United States military presence is worldwide. Facilities and personnel are vulnerable to attack by terrorist groups at any time. As members of the United States Air Force, it is essential to remain aware of world political actors, such as terrorists, and their affect on the United States military mission.

In Chapter 3, a profile of the terrorist and his surroundings was discussed. Review of various attributes such as age, sex, intelligence, and social strata revealed a terrorist that is usually male, in his mid-twenties, and from the middle to upper-middle class with some university training. These people were usually impacted by a traumatic event in their youth giving low personal esteem. These people are trained to blend into their urban area adopting a matching lifestyle similar to those around them. We saw that their ideology generally leans to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The information in Chapter 4 gave us a picture of the weapons terrorists often use. Guns are favored, especially submachine guns like the Uzi. Bombs and explosives provide excellent opportunities for attacking large groups of people causing massive casualties while the terrorists avoid any detection themselves. While guns and bombs and explosives are by far the most popular weapons employed by terrorists, technology has provided them with a limitless cache of modern sophisticated weapons like the RPG-7 and SA-7.

Chapter 5 discussed the criteria that terrorists use to select targets. Target accessibility, weapons availability, and the objectives of the terrorist determine which targets are considered. It is the goals of the terrorists that determine the final decision. These goals include sending a symbolic message, enforcing discipline in the group, military targets, financial gains, and inflicting punishment.

Chapter 6 reviewed the tactics given to terrorists by Carlos Marighella in his Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla. The tactics discussed in detail in Chapter 6 were the six most commonly used. They are assassinations, kidnappings, bombings, hijackings, attacks on installations or facilities and occupation with hostage taking. These tactics are used extensively by terrorists against military targets.

By now, a complete picture will have formulated in your mind. Table 1 is a summation of the principal characteristics of a terrorist. This picture of a terrorist will help you be aware of the people and environment around you. The military's role is active and we are engaged in defeating the terrorists and their disruptions to democracy.

<u>AGE</u> Middle to late twenties	<u>SEX</u> Male - Female participation is increasing	<u>INTELLIGENCE</u> Average or greater intelligence with several years of university study	<u>SOCIAL STRATA</u> Middle to upper middle class background	<u>PSYCHE</u> Occurrence of negative emotional event in childhood - illness - death of a parent	<u>URBAN LIFESTYLES</u> Matches dress, language, financial level of community used for cover Usually single	<u>RECRUITING METHODS AND TRAINING</u> Look for politically active students Training up to six months - Additional courses for promising candidates	<u>IDEOLOGY</u> Marxist-Leninist
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TABLE 1. PROFILE OF A TERRORIST

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